/16/

601 The kinship terms, excepting those that extend to all the
614 members of a clan, do not seem to apply to persons outside of those included in the charts (Figs. 1, 2, 3, and 4). The terms that designate older siblings are applied to all the members of the paternal clan without taking into account the principle of generation or the age relative to EGO. This custom tends to be applied even among descendants of the same grandparents: an old woman greets the granddaughter of her paternal uncle, calling her uix (older sister) instead of the corresponding kitsín (younger sister), the young girl using the identical reciprocal in her reply. We can say that there is a tendency toward the elimination of the principle of generation and that of age relative to EGO even among close relatives, using only one term for sister, a woman's brother, and a man's brother (uix, xibel, and bankil), except within the limits of the elemental family.

601 An individual, when born, is related to the members of
602 two clans: the paternal one, which is his own, and the maternal
614 one. Upon contracting marriage, he establishes new relationships, applying, as we have already shown, the terms which designate brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law to all the members of the clan of the spouse. In this manner a Cancuquero can be related to all the members of the tribe or native group, because at present only three clans exist, one of which may be the clan of EGO, another the maternal clan, and the other one the clan of the spouse. This is not always the case, because an individual may have married within the clan of his mother, in which case his kichanes and his siblings-in-law belong to the same clan, preferring then the use
[609] of the word bal to that of kichán. The members of the non-related clan receive the title of tatik and meetik (gentleman and lady).

582 The clans regulate marriage. Preferred clans with respect
589 to the selection of a spouse do not seem to exist. Upon the death of
614 the wife a man may marry again within the same clan or in the other. One of our informants had three successive wives belong-
614 ing to the same clan, but this is exceptional. In the three cases of
595 polygyny known to us the wives were not sisters: in one case the

/16 cont./
two women belonged to the same clan, and in the other two they were women from two different clans. The levirate and sororate exist, but do not constitute a custom practiced /17/ by many; formerly it must have been more frequent, as is proved by the fact of designating the stepfather and stepmother by the same terms used for the father's brother and mother's sister, respectively, and the stepchildren as nephews and nieces. There are several cases of marriage between brother and sister of one clan and sister and brother of another clan. Marriage between cross-cousins is frequent, especially that of a man with the daughter of the mother's brother. Husband and wife always belong to the same generation.

Residence is patrilocal, with temporary matrilocal residence for a year after marriage.

There still prevails the custom that those who intercede in a direct manner in the preparation of the cadaver and in the inhumation must be members of a different clan. If a married woman who has not had children dies, she is buried with her relatives, without the intervention of her husband.

The members of one and the same clan co-operate among themselves and lend each other mutual aid; the younger people obey and respect their elders in the same way that a younger brother respects and obeys his older brother. And we have stressed how "sorcery" is practiced only within the limits of the clan as a means of social control.

Mexico City,
Mexico

Note: The materials for the present study were collected during two seasons of field work: May-June, 1945, and June, 1946, financed by the University of Chicago, Instituto Nacional de Antropología de México, and Government of the State of Chiapas.

7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

592 The household into which an individual is born remains a resource base
591 throughout his life. In nine cases noted in Table 17 in which separations
586 occurred, the spouse returned to his or her natal home. In most cases in-
592 volving the death of a spouse, the widow or widower stays in the house-
736 hold established during the marriage. If the children are too young to be economically useful, the surviving parent may return to the parental household with his or her children, or they may move in with married siblings. If the family was living with the parents of one of the spouses, the surviving members usually remain there even if the elder couple are not the parents of the widow or widower. A young widow living alone is the prey of drunken men during fiestas and requires a protector.

586 The stability of marriage can be seen in the statistics on changes in con-
587 jugal status in the period from the first census in 1958 to the second census
[125] in 1964 (Table 18). Of 264 marriages formed at the time of the first census, only 15, or 5 percent, were voluntarily dissolved; 16 percent were broken by the death of one or both spouses, and another 1 percent by the death of both partners. 10 widowers and 4 widows remarried, an index both to the greater availability of women for remarriage as well as to the necessity for a man to have a woman in the house.

586
587
162

TABLE 18. Changes in Conjugal Status, 1958–1964

Conjugal status	*Alannantik*	*Ahk'olnantik*	*Total*
Same	92	89	181
Separated	3	11	14
First marriage	28	65	93
Widowed	13	26	39
Two wives		1	1
Remarried			
Widower	6	4	10
Widow	2	2	4
Both died	3	1	4
Returned to wife	3	1	4
Unknown	3	21	24
Total	153	221	374

621 578 582 them to "overlook" the trespasser, but not many young men are willing to risk the ire of the other barrio bachelors, nor the gossip and sanctions applied to them by their own barrio mates.[1]

621 794 Each barrio plays a role in the political and religious organization of the village by sending an approximately equal number of officers to the Ayuntamiento and the Mayordomías. Although in some years there are more delegates from one barrio, they attempt to correct the imbalance in the succeeding years. [623] The Principales (council of elders) have also equal representation.

621 [573] [575] [312] Escuadrilla groups (adolescent boys' gangs) and unmarried women's Church groups are formed among barrio mates. Women, with few exceptions, used the water wells or pipe lines in their barrio of residence (the exceptions include women who originally came from the other barrio) and who do their washing at places in [476] the river on their barrio side. Men who work together at such tasks as buying and butchering a cow, building a path or clearing an irrigation ditch belong to the same barrio. House parties [527] [123] organized to buy candles for the Church before a special Saint's day are barrio affairs, and no resident of the other barrio (with [575] the exception of the anthropologist) is invited. In the past, there were, in Aguacatenango, religious sororities sponsored by the Catholic Church, and each barrio had a separate one. There

---

[581] [587] [1] A man that has married once is considered to have had his share of the available women of the barrio. Second marriages, especially with girls who have never married before, are not well thought of. It is common, then, that second marriages occur across barrio lines. A man finds it easier to cope with the antagonism of the other barrio men (who are expected, in any case, to be antagonistic) than with the bachelors and neighbors in his own barrio, where he has to face the antagonism in every day interaction.

59 supported by her husband and father-in-law, and lives under their
562 roof. If the husband dies, she is supposed to go back to live
[606] with her parents as she did when she was single or live with a mature son who becomes responsible for her welfare and has some authority over her, as can be seen in the following example.

159 A woman had two sons by her first husband, the elder of
587 which, at the time of the events related here, was married. The
586 first husband died, and the woman married another man with whom she had another son. After a period of common residence, the second marriage broke up. The woman bought some land for a house, saving money for it by working in San Cristóbal and selling trago. She lived in this house with her married son and his wife.

The father of the last child (second marriage) offered to give the boy some new clothes. Before the woman accepted them, she asked her elder son's permission. The clothes were accepted because the woman's son said: "He is his father, and he should give clothes to his son."

592 The bases for the structure of the social relations within
561 the household are relative age, sex, kinship proximity to the
562 household head, and economic responsibility for the upkeep of the
602 unit. Elder men have more authority than younger men; elder women more than younger ones. Men have more authority than women (perhaps, on some occasions, with the exception of the mother), and finally, agnatic kin of the household head have more authority
592 than affinals. The result of this ordering of power within the
606 household is that a daughter-in-law is at the bottom of the

591 patrilocality at a young age, just as filialocality is the complementary form of female matrilocality. If we compare the percentages of distribution of both forms, we can observe that the complementarity is expressed in similar distributions.

	Per cent		Per cent
Patrilocal	72	Filiolocal	60
Matrilocal	23	Filialocal	20
Other	5	Other	20

This distribution of filiolocality occurs because the norm is to reside with the son to whom one has given the house, but also because in making a choice between relatives with whom to live, it is preferred to choose a male and not a female line. In some cases, consequently, it is preferred to live with a brother rather than with a daughter.

[586] [592] Children of divorced mothers become members of the household where the mother resides after the divorce. If the mother dies while she is still married to the children's father, the • 587 children become members of the father's parents' household. When 591 a man remarries, he usually does not bring his children from [183] previous marriages to his wife. We have only one case of a child living with the father after the father's second marriage. The reasons for this anomalous case are individual ones. The child's father's mother is the only other relative alive, besides the father, and she resides in the same household. The fact that the paternal grandmother and not the father is the sponsor of the [601] child, is clear from the information attached to the case. The child, a girl, sleeps with the grandmother and calls her mother.

591 587 [601] [183] The stepmother refers to her as "my husband's child," and she did not count her, when giving census information, among the children of her household, but as a child living with "my husband's mother." [848] Another characteristic that makes this case anomalous is that this stepchild was born of an extra-marital relation between the father and another woman, while the father was already married to the stepmother.

593 591 587 [428] The rationale given by the people when asked the reasons why a father does not keep his children with him, is that "stepmothers are no good." It is possible that one of the main forces operating behind this arrangement is the possibility of conflict over inheritance rights of stepchildren. By assigning rights and duties towards stepchildren only to stepfathers, it is implied that a man marrying a woman with children takes not only a wife, but the economic and jural responsibilities of being a father, including the duty of making them his heirs. We do not have, at the moment, sufficient information to support this point, and it is only given here as a suggestion for future inquiry.

591 592 423 426 These alternative rules of residence explain the composition of the compound households made up of the remnants of two or more original nuclear families, except for the cases in which people are living in borrowed houses. In one of the two cases in our sample, a house was "borrowed" from a brother of the husband's father. The family living in this compound is a very large one, twelve members, with only two males who are of working age, and very poor by Aguacatenango standards. The male head is an orphan who lived before marriage with his mother's mother and

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango
Aguacatenango

000village), and "perhaps a witch." (See Genealogy, Fig. 15.)

159 Delfina is an unusual woman by village standards, and
156 the anthropologist quickly notices her deviant, from the rest of Aguacatenango women, personal characteristics: domineering, moody
562 and pretentious. But even in other cases, the rights of women to
428 inherit or transmit property are contested often, as the following
578 example will also show.

Case 2

159 Chilola has a son from a marriage previous to her present
428 one. This son is about twenty years old. He is working the land
562 with his stepfather, but wants to have his own milpa. When
578 Chilola's first husband died, they were very poor. Nobody claimed rights on her husband's milpa, so she held it, although her son was not old enough to cultivate it. She tried to sell it to pay for the burial, but nobody wanted to pay her price, so she kept
[592] it. At the time, her mother-in-law, an old woman, was living with
[606] her and being supported by Chilola, but "although she was already
[587] old, went out and looked for her man" (aunque estaba viejita se fué a buscar su hombre), and remarried. Because Chilola's son's milpa was fallow, the second husband of Chilola's mother-in-law took over its cultivation.

From the mother-in-law's late marriage, a daughter was born. This daughter married and her husband took over the milpa.

Now, Chilola's son wants to get his part of it because he is the direct heir of the father, who was the man who originally had the rights over the parcel. At the same time, the man who is

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 191]